

of the state, whether administrative, police or military, take an oath at the time of joining service to uphold the Constitution. This is a most sacred duty, making it all the more important for them to not only observe the law in letter and spirit in all their actions . . . but to be seen to observe the law. When one sworn to uphold the law himself disregards it, the common citizen is all the more encouraged to hold the law in contempt.

The citizen does not exist for the state, rather the state exists for the citizen . . . to provide protection to life and property, to provide opportunities for potential of every citizen may be realised and brought to productive use. This is the *raison d'être* of the state. When officials of the state act in a way that betrays disrespect for human life they act against the very purpose of the state.

Mr. Gill asks for a special fund to be raised to pay for best legal defense of policemen brought to trial for excesses. There is reason to believe that the Punjab Police already gives policemen money to hire the best lawyers from its own secret fund. Is Mr. Gill in fact asking that this practice be brought into the open? In any case, the Constitution already empowers the courts to appoint lawyers at state expense for those who cannot afford them. However, "best lawyers" raises the issue of equality. If the state provides lawyers of great ability to the defendant while the complainant, having no such assistance, can only afford a weak lawyer, then where is equality before the law?

It may be remembered that the next of kin of the alleged militants suffered not only loss of their relatives but confiscation and destruction of property, with a result that they can ill afford litigation costs and in many cases have to depend on lawyers on "shared compensation" basis. This category of persons need state aid.

Aside from a commission to be set up to examine records of judicial processes, Mr. Gill demands a commission to identify all officers in all branches of the judiciary and administration who were guilty of gross dereliction of duty during this period. Mr. Gill goes on to urge that "these steps demand the active participation of the judiciary and the legislature". MASR appreciates this suggestion but cautions that while such commissions must be respected by the government, at the same time they must be independent and insulated from official pressures; their findings must be placed before the public. A situation in which the judiciary and legislature sits in judgement on themselves must be avoided. The interests of truth and justice demand independent commissions.

MASR points out that the past 15 years saw not only the malfeasance of individuals, it was also a period when institutions were subverted, with some services subjected to the dictation of others. The civil services ceased to control the police, rather the police controlled the civil services, including the state magistracy. Officers of the state medical service were made to give reports dictated by police. Even the office of governor came under Police domination to the extent that two governors were made to leave the state abruptly for demanding accountability from the police.

MASR sympathises with conscientious and upright officers of the Punjab Police who may feel that they have been unjustly maligned on account of the misdeeds of some of their colleagues. We also sympathise with the families of those policemen who have been accused of wrongdoing and treat their suffering at par with that of the families of those killed or disappeared over the past 15 years.

It is certainly a terrible thing to be slandered. The entire Sikh community will

vouch for this, as they have borne some of the most abhorrent epithets—"anti-national", "traitor", "terrorist", "religious fanatic"; the Sikh soldier has smarted under the label "questionable reliability". They have not only had to bear verbal insult, the Sikh community has been subjected to genocide on a terrible scale for the "crime" of demanding more powers for the state.

The Sikhs were made victims of politicians' power games. In "Policing the Police", (Indian Express, August, 1996) Shekhar Gupta asked ". . . who provided K.P.S. Gill and a select band of the most trusted Intelligence Bureau aces suitcases full of unaudited cash to buy militant loyalties, to build a whole army of cats? . . . The Punjab crisis saw five prime ministers as many internal security ministers. Each one knew precisely what was going on. Some routinely boasted of how ruthlessly they were putting rebellion down. Why are they hiding now?"

In his letter, Gill says "the real question is whether a strategy of state terrorism was adopted by the police; and the answer is unequivocally in the negative." Was the strategy adopted at a higher level and simply passed on to the police for implementation? In "Dateline: Tarn Taran" (Pioneer, June 1, 1997) Ajaz Ashraf and Bindu quote Satya Pal Dang as saying: "The clearance for fake encounters could have only been given by political leaders."

Regarding Mr. Gill's apprehensions of "media trial" of accused policemen and hounding of the police in the press, MASR sees little evidence to support these misgivings. The press, both local and national, has given ample space to police versions both during the worst days of turmoil and now. Nearly two full columns of precious space have been spared for Mr. Gill's letter—surely that does not bespeak a biased press. No human rights group has ever had its letter published in full, even if it were a short one.

Mr. Gill accuses the human rights movement of twisting facts. If we have erred in respect of any case we are sorry. Part of the problem is that we must rely on Mr. Gill for much of our information. For instance in his letter he writes: "Even in a case as fully documented as Operation Blackthunder, where the entire action was carried out in full view of the media, not a single conviction was pronounced." But earlier, addressing a Rotary Club (Midtown) meeting, Mr. Gill said: "that some people sympathetic to the militants had infiltrated into the prosecution agency of the police and, therefore, enough evidence could not be collected" and subsequently cases against all the persons accused in Operation Black Thunder had to be withdrawn. Mr. G.S. Grewal, Advocate General has accused Mr. Gill of twisting facts. Grewal says: "Those persons who were arrested during Operation Black Thunder were in fact put on trial. After a few months all were released at the insistence of the prosecution because of lack of evidence. It is another matter that, perhaps, none of them may be alive today. It will be too much to presume that they have died a natural death."

Mr. Gill also has no reason to disparage the human rights movement. Human rights are for all, including Mr. Gill and his policemen. Human rights stands for political and religious freedom, for the legal rights of common citizen of criminal offenses.

Mr. Prime Minister, a previous letter sent to you jointly by MASR, PHRO and PUCL Punjab Chapter, will be in your hands. This letter asked your support for our request to the Punjab Chief Minister Parkash Singh Badal for an independent census of human rights violations, including killings and disappearances during the 1984-1996 period. We had also enclosed the various assessments re-

garding disappearances and killings. We again ask for your help in implementing this census.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

INDERJIT SINGH JALJEE,

CONVENOR,

Movement Against State Repression.

[From the Burning Punjab News, May 9, 2001]

BIHAR—BLAST IN CHURCH, CHRIST STATUE DAMAGED

MUZAFFAPUR.—Cracker explosions by miscreants in a church here has caused partial damage to a statue of Christ sending shock waves among the Christian community in the Bihar town, official sources said. The unidentified miscreants burst three crackers one after another on Saturday evening in St. Francis Church which led to the ripping off of the head of a statue of child Christ seated on the lap of St. Joseph, the sources said. The miscreants also left behind pamphlets which said "Seva Ki Aar Mein Dharmantaran Band Karo (stop religious conversions in the garb of service)," "Isalyon Bharat Choro (Christians leave India)" and "Poore Bharat Ko Hindu Rang Mein Rangna Hai (Hindus should prevail in entire India)." An FIR was lodged at the local police station by Father Julius Lazarus of the church. The top district and police officials remained tight-lipped over the incident, but said the investigation was on. A police contingent had also been posted at the church, they said. When contacted, State Director General of Police RR Prasad in Patna ruled out the possibility of the explosion being triggered by bombs and said the police were looking into the matter. Lazarus said the Christian community was terribly hurt by the incident and described it as "extremely serious." He felt that some religious institution was behind the incident, but refused to name anybody.

WTO MEETING

HON. DOUG BEREUTER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 10, 2001

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, this Member strongly urges his colleagues to read and carefully consider the excellent column of Paul Krugman, a New York Times columnist, which appears in numerous American newspapers.

He has it right in describing the motivation, misguided views, and counterproductive actions of key groups involved in organizing the demonstrations against their perception of globalism at numerous international meetings since the WTO meeting in Seattle.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 24, 2001]

FOES OF GLOBALISM DON'T USE THEIR HEADS
(By Paul Krugman)

There is an old European saying: Anyone who is not a socialist before he is 30 has no heart; anyone who is still a socialist after he is 30 has no head. Suitably updated, this applies perfectly to the movement against globalization—the movement that made its big splash in Seattle back in 1999 and did its best to disrupt the Summit of the Americas in Quebec City this past weekend.

The facts of globalization are not always pretty. If you buy a product made in a Third World country, it was produced by workers who are paid incredibly little by Western standards and probably work under awful conditions. Anyone who is not bothered by

those facts, at least some of the time, has no heart.

But that doesn't mean the demonstrators are right. On the contrary: Anyone who thinks that the answer to world poverty is simple outrage against global trade has no head—or chooses not to use it. The anti-globalization movement already has a remarkable track record of hurting the very people and causes it claims to champion.

Even when political action doesn't backfire, when the movement gets what it wants, the effects are often startlingly malign. For example, could anything be worse than having children work in sweatshops? Alas, yes. In 1993, child workers in Bangladesh were found to be producing clothing for Wal-Mart, and Sen. Tom Harkin proposed legislation banning imports from countries employing underage workers. The direct result was that Bangladeshi textile factories stopped employing children. But did the children go back to school? Did they return to happy homes? No according to Oxfam, which found that the displaced child workers ended up in even worse jobs or on the streets—and that a significant number were forced into prostitution.

The point is that Third World countries aren't poor because their export workers earn low wages; it's the other way around. Because the countries are poor, even what look to us like bad jobs at bad wages are almost always much better than the alternatives: Millions of Mexicans are migrating to the north of the country to take the low-wage export jobs that outrage opponents of NAFTA. And those jobs wouldn't exist if the wages were much higher: The same factors that make poor countries poor—low productivity, bad infrastructure, general social disorganization—mean that such countries can compete on world markets only if they pay wages much lower than those paid in the West.

Of course, opponents of globalization have heard this argument, and they have answers. At a conference this month, I heard paeans to the superiority of traditional rural lifestyles over modern urban life—a claim that not only flies in the face of the clear fact that many peasants flee to urban jobs as soon as they can, but that (it seems to me) has a disagreeable element of cultural condescension, especially given the overwhelming preponderance of white faces in the crowds of demonstrators. (Would you want to live in a pre-industrial village?) I also heard claims that rural poverty in the Third World is mainly the fault of multinational corporations—which is just plain wrong but is a convenient belief if you want to think of globalization as an unmitigated evil.

The most sophisticated answer was that the movement doesn't want to stop exports—it just wants better working conditions and higher wages.

But it's not a serious position. Third World countries desperately need their export industries—they cannot retreat to an imaginary rural Arcadia. They can't have those export industries unless they are allowed to sell goods produced under conditions that Westerners find appalling and by workers who receive very low wages. And that's a fact the anti-globalization activists refuse to accept.

So who are the bad guys? The activists are getting the images they wanted from Quebec City: leaders sitting inside their fortified enclosure, with thousands of police protecting them from the outraged masses outside. But images can deceive. Many of the people inside that chain-link fence are sincerely trying to help the world's poor. And the people outside the fence, whatever their intentions, are doing their best to make the poor even poorer.

SELECTION OF JOHN P. WALTERS
AS DRUG CZAR

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 10, 2001

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to rise today to applaud President Bush for his selection of John P. Walters as Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, and for his support for our war on illicit drugs in our country and around the world. I was pleased to join President Bush in the Rose Garden today, to announce the selection of John Walters and a reinvigoration of our war on drugs. John Walters' extensive experience under former Drug Czar Bill Bennett, provides the Bush Administration with the knowledge and character necessary to get the war on drugs back on track, with appropriate balance and support on both the supply side and the demand side.

John Walters started his public service at the Department of Education, working hard on drug abuse prevention, including service as the principal author and project manager for the "Schools Without Drugs" prevention and education program. He served as ONDCP Chief of Staff in the first Bush Administration, and later was confirmed by the Senate as Deputy Director. During his tenure at ONDCP, Walters was a major designer of the largest Federal funding increases for drug treatment and treatment research in U.S. history.

The selection of John Walters and the recognition of the importance of keeping the Office of Drug Czar at the Cabinet level, truly reflects the President's national commitment to effectively fighting the drug epidemic. The President's new drug policy sends a clear signal to America's youth that drug use is dangerous and wrong. The President wants to reach our youth as early as possible to help steer them away from the dangers of illegal drug use and addiction.

Mr. Speaker, drug abuse prevention begins with the family. To help families lead the way in combating drug addiction, the President is directing ONDCP to develop a parent drug corps, to reinforce the efforts of families. The President's drug policy will also provide needed support to schools and communities in their efforts to prevent drug abuse.

President Bush has directed ONDCP to focus Federal anti-drug efforts on results. To assess the effectiveness of existing anti-drug efforts, Health and Human Services Secretary Thompson will lead a state-by-state review of treatment needs and capacity to make certain that we provide effective resources to meet the demand where it exists.

The President has also directed Attorney General Ashcroft to develop a plan to use our criminal justice system—from prisons to probation and parole—to protect citizens by helping addicts recover and stay away from drugs and violence when they return to the community. The President's budget reflects his commitment to preventing drug abuse and treating those already addicted. His budget provides \$25 million over 5 years to create the parent drug corps to mobilize parents and families. The President's budget doubles funding for local anti-drug coalitions over 5 years, providing up to \$350 million over 5 years, including an \$11 million increase in fiscal year 2002,

to support community-based drug prevention and education efforts.

The President is committed to closing the treatment gap with a 5-year commitment to increasing treatment resources by \$1.6 billion, including targeted treatment programs for teens and adolescents, and increased funding for the National Institute of Drug Abuse by \$126 million for fiscal year 2002, expanding research into prevention and treatment. The President substantially increases funding for the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, fully funds the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign, and makes a strong commitment to drug courts and other criminal justice diversion programs to help more Americans break the vicious cycle of addiction and incarceration.

The threat from illegal drugs is our most insidious national security threat. Throughout my tenure in the Congress, I have been dedicated to fighting the plague of illicit drugs in our Nation and throughout our world. Accordingly, I am proud to stand together with President Bush and John Walters to reassert our national commitment to our war on drugs, for our young people, our communities, our law enforcement officers, and our international allies.

Mr. Speaker, I submit a copy of the President's remarks on the announcement of the Director of the Office of Drug Control Policy to be included at this print in the RECORD:

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT IN ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF DRUG CONTROL POLICY, MAY 10, 2001

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you all so very much for being here. It's an honor to see so many members of the United States Congress who are here. Thank you so very much for coming—and members from both political parties, members who are dedicated to joining with an administration which is dedicated to reducing drug abuse around America. Thank you for being here. (Applause.)

I'm pleased that members of my Cabinet have joined us—the Attorney General of the United States, John Ashcroft; the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Tommy Thompson. Thank you all for being here. (Applause.) Mr. Surgeon General, thank you for being here, as well, sir. We're honored to have you here. (Applause.)

Also with us is John J. DiIulio, who is the Director of the Office of Faith-based and Community Initiatives. John is on the leading edge of encouraging faith-based programs to become energized to help people who need help. And, John, thank you so much for being here, as well. (Applause.)

I'm honored to be joined on stage by five Americans—well, six Americans—five Americans who won't speak. (Laughter.) Which is saying something for the first American I'm going to introduce. William J. Bennett. (Laughter and applause.) He was our nation's first Drug Czar, former Secretary of Education, a fearless—fearless—fighter against drug abuse. As well, as Joe A. Califano, who has a Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University, former Secretary of Health and Education and Welfare under President Jimmy Carter, as well, like Mr. Bennett, a fearless advocate for those of us who are dedicated to reducing drug abuse. Thank you both for being here. (Applause.)

And we have three members from the community—antidrug community—who have joined us. Arthur R. Dean is the Chairman and CEO of the Community Antidrug Coalitions of America. Thank you so much for coming. I appreciate you being here. (Applause.) Jessica Hulse is a member of the